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An Impartial

REVIEW

OF THE

Present State of AFFAIRS

IN

EUROPE.

To which is prefixed

A LETTER to the Authors of the

CRAFTSMAN.

Occasioned by a Paragraph in that Paper
of *January 17, 1735*.



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REVIEWS

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TO THE
Authors of the CRAFTSMAN.

GENTLEMEN,

THESE Papers were writ with that Candour which, it might be wished, should be always preserved in Enquiries of such Importance. It seemed natural on this happy Occasion of restoring Peace Abroad; that nothing should be offered to the Publick which might tend to revive Animosities at Home; and however common it is in Prosperity to insult the adverse Side, I solemnly declare, I never once harbour'd a Thought to reflect on any Person or Party in the World.

This perfect Good Will to all Sides, gave me the highest Satisfaction in the remarkable Unanimity of *that Day* on which the first of these Papers was published: And if there was *one* who rose up to give *his Negative* in this *Day of Rejoycing*, it is with Pleasure we may observe that *there was but one*, and *He* of so peculiar a Complexion, that we hope He will never *allay* our

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Joys

Joys on any Occasion, by mixing his own with them ; since it is his Part never to rejoice but when the *People of England* ought to mourn, and when that *distant Prospect* which hath engaged his Affections, seems to be more near at Hand.

There was some Reason to believe that the *Jacobite Party*, had it any longer subsisted, might have been disconsolate on this sudden Conclusion of the War for many Reasons, but for one more particular than the rest. The *Armistice* in *Italy* hath deprived the *Pretender's Eldest Son* of the favourable Opportunity which He had there of improving his military Genius, and learning the *Art of War* without bringing his Neck into Danger. And I wish the Chagrin of this Disappointment may not induce Him (after *Falstaff's* Advice) to bang himself in his Heir-apparent Garters.

As the marvellous Success of Your Immortal Writings hath produced the *Coalition of Parties*, we are bound to believe that there are no *Jacobites* in *England*, though your candid *Enquirer into the Conduct of our Domestick Affairs* found them to be very numerous and dangerous in *Ireland*.

For this Reason, I perswade myself, that the late Accommodation cannot be distasteful any where, except in *Carrick-drum-rusk*, and one or two other Places in the same Climate, where the *Gheogheghans* and Patriots of the like Class carry on their Machinations against the *Protestant* Interest.

But, *Gentlemen*, I cannot pass over the last *Craftsman*, without observing the ungenerous Design, and complaining of the disingenuous Suggestions which every Man meets with in that Paper ; where the most provoking personal Abuse is repeated, at a Time when the Authors of it cannot find

find the Shadow of a Pretence to clamour at the Conduct of National Affairs.

Since the present Opposition was commenced, and this is the *Eleventh* Year of its Progress, there hath not been a Session begun with the like *undisputed Address to the Throne*: And when a *Set of Opposers*, who as much as they have inveigh'd against *Majorities*, boast their Numbers to be almost equal to the *Majority*; when THEY could find no Appearance of Reason either to divide against, or even to dissent from the Motion, how clear must be the *Truth* which even their Eloquence could not dispute, and how powerful that *Authority* which their Numbers could not oppose?

The Inconsistency of the *Craftsman* which I object to is therefore the more obvious; wherein, to omit the Consideration of much *Abuse*, below the *Dignity of a Gentleman* either to throw out or to animadvert upon, there is a Passage which immediately belongs to the Subject of these Papers—a Suggestion “ that *Foreign Powers* shew a manifest Coldness and Indifference to *all his Majesty's* good Offices and Propositions (even at a Time when they stand most in need of a *Mediator*) from the mean Opinion which they entertain of those who are known to preside in his Councils.”

I cannot conceal my Apprehensions that this Paper travelled a long Journey before it arrived at the Press, and was the Work of some extraordinary Statesman, who, tender of hearing himself praised for the Soundness of his Morals, and the Depth of his Politicks, hath retired to such a Distance from his Country, that the Papers which He writes are out of Season before they can be published.

If it had been pretended, that *Foreign Powers* were cold to his Majesty's good Offices and Propositions, whilst things remained in a State of Deliberation, the Author of this bold Suggestion might have hoped for Belief; the Uncertainty of Affairs might have led even well-meaning Men to have imagined whatever the Malicious could infuse into them. But when all *Europe* confess his Majesty's Weight, when thankful Nations acclaim it, and scarcely *one* Voice in a whole Parliament is heard to deny it; when the infinite Success of his Majesty's good Offices and Propositions proves the high Respect with which they were received, and the great Consideration in which they were held; when it is notorious, that there is not a Court in *Europe* where the Ministers of the contending Powers have not declared themselves to have the utmost Regard to his Majesty's Interposition; and that of the Princes least satisfied with the Accommodation, the *King of Spain* particularly, hath declared himself willing to accept the Good Offices of the Maritime Powers, and hath, in Consideration of them, even resolved to comply with the *Preliminaries*: When all this is evident, can there be more open Contempt of Honesty and Truth, than to suggest, that *Foreign Powers* have shewed Coldness and Indifference to ALL or any of his Majesty's *Good-Offices and Propositions*, or a mean Opinion of those who are known to preside in his Councils?

The Fact is so clearly contrary to this Suggestion, that *the Power* of whom this is meant, *the Power* which stood most in need of a *Mediation*, sought to his Majesty for Aid in the strongest Terms, and could never betray the least Shew of Coldness to that Prince, whose Arms must have been the Support of the Empire in the last Extremity;

Extremity ; whose Influence contributed more to unite the Members of the *Germanick Body* in the *Emperor's* Interest than all other Means in the World, and whose weighty Interposition hath actually detached from the *opposite Interest* those who were most rely'd upon in every Project to the Prejudice of the *House of Austria*.

If, indeed, it had been said, that Princes do not very cordially receive Propositions, either to recede from any favourite Pretension, or to give up any Darling Dominion: This may be true. They, like all other Men in the World, have Passions which often cost them very dear, and which always struggle very hard to be gratify'd: But that any *Indifference* to the Overtures of *Great Britain* appeared in the late Negotiations of *Europe*, other than what may be accounted for from the Unwillingness of Princes to mortify their own Ambition, is so utterly false, that it was invented only to deceive *those* who have no Capacity to judge, and whom it is scandalous to impose upon.

If, to justify such a Suggestion, it is said (and we all know *where* it hath been said) that the *Preliminaries* are not the Result of his Majesty's Propositions, and that they are not formed upon the Plan of the *Maritime Powers*: I answer, that no Body pretends the *Cession of Lorrain* to be of his Majesty's proposing ; but that the whole Negotiation had its Rise from his Mediation, is clear from many Circumstances. He disposed the contending Powers to hearken to Terms of Peace—He drew them to treat of an Accommodation—He gave Weight to the *Emperor* in his Demands for the Restitution of his Countries—He gave visible Assistance to the *Imperial* Interests, by forming those Alliances within the *Empire*, which made the Progress of the *French* less practicable—

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He shewed the most determined Resolutions not to suffer any Alteration in the Balance of *Europe*— He made it manifest, that He would not be a *Spectator only*, if the *Empire* was threatened with Ruin— And had not this been very fully considered in a *certain Court*, *FRANCE*, perhaps had never yielded either to *guarantee* the *Pragmatick Sanction*, or to give the *Emperor* Peace on the Terms of the *Preliminary Articles*.

Nor, can there be an higher Proof of the Weight which his Majesty's Councils have in the Courts of *Europe*, than the Circumstances on which the Courts of *Madrid* and *Turin* chiefly refused to comply with the *Preliminary Articles*, namely, that the *Maritime Powers* were not immediately included in them, and that their *Catholick* and *Sardinian Majesties* should not hold themselves secure of the Dominions respectively allotted to them, without the Guarantee of *Great Britain* and the *States General*.

And the earnest Instances which the *Emperor* and *France* have made at this Court for the Approbation of *Great Britain* to confirm the *Preliminaries*, is as clear a Demonstration that neither of those Great Powers treat our *Good Offices* with Coldness or with Indifference.

Could Malice or Dissaffection with any Plausibility refer to any Court in *Europe*, that might be supposed not to have shewed the full Regard to *Great Britain*, which his Majesty and the Nation deserve, perhaps an ill-meaning Writer might misconstrue the slow, cautious, and unwilling Proceedings of the *Dutch*, in every thing which tended to succour the *Emperor*, as disrespectful to *Britain*, who vigorously pressed them to arm in Readiness for his Relief, if *France* would not hearken to Reason.

But

But I am persuaded that the *States General* want not a proper Defence, and that their Unwillingness did not proceed from their mean Opinion of those who are known to preside in his Majesty's Councils, but from their BAD OPINION of those who are known to oppose them. Their High Mightinesses must well remember, that after having been engaged beyond their Strength by the Charms of our Alliance in the last Great War in Europe, they were infamously betray'd and sacrificed by the Influence of THAT MAN, whom the Opposing Party in Great Britain have established as an Oracle in all Foreign Affairs, whom the Great Patriot Himself hath pronounced to be a Minister of unquestionable Capacity, kept from employing it in the Service of his Country by the Prevalence of meer Faction, and whom the Reformers of our Laws have adopted as the best qualified Judge of our Constitution.

If therefore the Dutch had any Suspicion, that the Boasts of our Patriots, and their sanguine Assurance of being able to destroy the present Ministers, might have even the least Foundation in the Reason of Things, they must tremble to think of engaging their People in a War, which might bring them again to depend on the same Wicked Minister of Britain, who formerly betray'd and surrender'd them to the Power of France: A Man, whose Malignity to Human Nature is only to be equalled by his implacable Hatred to the Dutch, and who hath been for Thirty Years past the most envenomed Enemy to their Republick that was ever known since the Death of the Duke of ALVA.

And even if this Person had less Credit with the Party in Opposition, if He were withdrawn from Politicks, or from the World itself, the
Dutch

Dutch might naturally fear, from the fatal Example of his Treachery to them, the Consequences of a Change in the Administration, and in the Measures of the Administration, as both are commonly joined together.

It is therefore plain to the Understanding of all Men, that, if the *Dutch* did not act up to the Spirit of his Majesty's Councils, it was not from any mean Opinion of his Ministers, but from a just Apprehension, that the uncertain Events of a War might too powerfully affect the Fortunes of those Ministers; that in any violent Commotion of *Europe* the Scene might be changed in *Britain*, the *British* Ministers ruined, and the *British* Allies undone by the Violence of a Faction, restless to engross all Power, and to gratify unjust Revenge, though at the Expence of their Country's Honour, and the common Interest of Nations.

It is shewn in the ensuing Discourse, that this Disadvantage to his Majesty's Councils hath encreased the Reputation of his Wisdom and Resolution in surmounting every Difficulty: And surely, if the unreasonable Opposition in this Country made the *Peace of Europe* so difficult to restore, the *Opposers* will at length be shamed into Reason and Duty, will acknowledge the Blessings of a Reign which hath saved *them*, in common with the whole Nation, in spite of their own Perverseness, and made the *Crown of Great Britain* considerable abroad, notwithstanding the ungrateful Endeavours to weaken and dishonour it at Home.

These, GENTLEMEN, are sincerely my Sentiments, which however they prevail as to your *Conviction*, will, I doubt not, have their full Effect in your *Confutation*. I will make no Returns to any other Part of your Paper, as not being
relative

relative to my Subject, and as not being likely to make any Impression, after so shocking a Falshood, in so essential and important a Point. I will make no Reprizals on any Man's *private Character*; how much soever you have provoked it; for the present Ministry enjoy a nobler Triumph, as your disappointed Hearts and your inveterate Railings may abundantly shew. I therefore leave you to reconcile yourselves to your Country's Peace and your own, and am, with all the Respect due to your great Merit,

Jan. 18.

Your loving Brother in the Standish.

1735.





*An Impartial Review of the present
State of Affairs in EUROPE.*



HOSE who look back to the Death of the late *King of Poland*, in the Beginning of the Year 1733, will acknowledge, that *Europe* was never alarmed with more dreadful Apprehensions of the most general and lasting War, than from the Consequences of that *Interregnum*, when the Crown of *France*, after a Repose of Twenty Years, the longest which she ever enjoyed in the Course of many Ages, was invited to gratify every ambitious View, and had less Opposition to be afraid of, than in any former Conjunction.

This great Power was become more formidable by the Want of Male Issue in the *Imperial Family*, and was naturally tempted to make Advantages of a disputed Succession to the *Austrian Hereditary Countries*. Not only the ancient Claims of *France* on the Side of *Germany*, furnished Pretences, but the Contentions of the different Branches of that *August House*, must have given *France* a fatal Opportunity to assert her Pretensions in the most boundless Manner: And when the Alliance of the most Christian King, with so considerable a
a Can-

a Candidate to the *Crown of Poland* as King STANISLAUS, gave the Court of *France* such a natural Occasion to establish a King in *Poland*, inseparably tied to the Interests of *France*, the Power of the *House of Bourbon* seemed likely to swallow up all *Europe*, extending itself from South to North, and encompassing the *House of Austria* on every Side, infomuch, that the Disposition of the *Hereditary Countries*, whenever the Demise of the *Emperor* should happen, must, in a great Measure, have been depending on the almost uncontrollable Will of the *Court of France*.

From this Opposition of Interests that War ensued, which made almost every Country a Scene of Blood ; which brought the *Russians* into *Poland*, the Armies of *France* to the *Rhine*, and the united Arms of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia* into the Imperial *Hereditary Countries* in *Italy*.

Coincident with these Troubles was the Difference between *Spain* and *Portugal*, whereby the latter was prompted to become a Party in the War, whilst the *Emperor* incessantly demanded, and his sinking Condition seemed greatly to require, Succours, both from *Great Britain* and the *States General*, which, had they been granted on our Part, must have exposed our Trade to the Calamities of a War in the *British Seas* ; and which, had they been granted on the Part of the *Dutch*, would have drawn upon them the Invasion of *Flanders*, and the Hazard of losing their *Barrier*.

So that every Nation in *Europe* was either the Seat of War, or threatened with its Approaches ;— a War, whose Extent or Duration the wisest Men in the World could make no Judgment of, and whose Events might occasion even greater Calamities than the most fearful could be aware of.

In this Situation, and amidst these sad Apprehensions, if any Man, on whom a Nation could turn its Eyes, as proper to give his Advice or Assistance in a Season of so much Distress; if any such Person had offered to the *People of Britain* to preserve them, not only from the Calamities of a War, but even from the Mischiefs of inactive and peaceable Measures; had offered, that, in all the Troubles of the Continent, this Island should have no Share but to mediate an Accommodation; had offered, that, from the Success of our Mediation, the *Peace of Europe* should be restored with greater Advantages than had hitherto been obtained, or looked for; and even that the *Emperor* himself should gain infinitely better Security for the Succession in his Family, than he ever had Hopes of before the War,——would not every Man in *Britain*, with Transports of Joy, have embraced such a Person as their greatest Deliverer, whose Wisdom and Integrity could never enough be adored? whose Success must not only save his Country from Debts, from Taxes, from a Deluge of Blood, and an endless Series of Misfortunes, but must establish the Peace of all the Powers around us, and secure the Happiness of Nations yet unborn?

If then the cautious Wisdom and prevailing Influence of his Majesty's Councils have produced these stupendous Effects, which are so much beyond what the Ill-affected would have believed, or the Best affected could have hoped; if the War, which had spread itself over so many Countries, hath been brought to a Cessation within *two Years* from its first Commencement; and the Peace of the World is restored in such a Manner, that even the former Pretensions to disturb it, are utterly taken away; if *Britain*, grown rich by its Neutrality, is thus become glorious by its Mediation; there

there is not a Period in the Annals of Time, which can shine to future Ages with greater Lustre ; there hath not been an *Administration* which so truly deserved the Applause and Affection of their Country, nor a PRINCE on the Throne, since the Foundation of the Monarchy, that ever so nobly distinguish'd himself *King, Father, and Preserver of his People.*

It will be excused me, if, contemplating this universal Good, this Work divine, of restoring Peace to Mankind, I shall engage the Publick Attention, by considering this Accommodation in all those Lights, which the *History of Europe*, the Relation of former Treaties, and the present Interests of the great Powers, can offer to a curious Enquirer.

It is confessedly so much the Interest of the *British* Nation to preserve the *House of Austria*, as the Bulwark of the *Liberties of Germany*, and the Power which must balance the Greatness of the *House of Bourbon*, that when the War had proceeded with so much Disadvantage to the Imperial Arms ; when the *Emperor's* Forces were driven out of *Italy*, except the few which remained blocked up in *Mantua* ; and when the Course of the *Rhine* was open to the *Armies of France*, there is no Man in *England* will deny, that it seemed most natural and reasonable to yield the *Emperor* those Succours which he desired, and to preserve his Dominions intire in his *August Family.*

Yet natural and reasonable as this undoubtedly was, the Circumstances of Time, and the Situation of Affairs, obliged *Great Britain* rather to assist the *Emperor* by the Application of her Councils, than by the precipitate Interposition of her Arms.

It was allowed by an *Honourable Person* of great Distinction amongst those Gentlemen whom the World call *Tories*, that we could not engage in a War with *France*, without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*; and it was evident to common Understanding, with what insuperable Difficulties such War must have been attended, wherein we alone should engage as Auxiliaries to the *Emperor*.

It will then be seen, that we omitted no Endeavours to dispose the *Dutch* to a hearty and vigorous Concurrence in the necessary Measures. We augmented our Forces by Sea and Land, as an Example to them. We pressed them to an Augmentation of *their Forces*, by the remarkable Memorial of the *British Ambassador* at the *Hague*, who, in the Beginning of the last Summer, by Order from his Majesty, and in his Name, assured them in the most solemn Manner, that if those Representations had the Success which his Majesty so ardently hoped and desired, they should find him always disposed to concert most cordially with them, the future Measures which the Situation of Affairs in Europe, and their mutual Interests might require, to put an End to the present Troubles.

The slow and cautious Proceedings of the *Dutch*, increased the Difficulties which naturally loaded the Proposition of a War with *France*. The Variety of our Taxes, and the Burden of our Debts, made it sufficiently dangerous to undertake a War, which must inevitably create new Taxes, and occasion new Debts, at the same Time that it must cut off the most valuable Branches of our Trade, and lessen not only the Funds, which are sacred to pay off our Incumbrances, but those which must in a great Measure furnish our annual Supplies. And in this Situation to have taken the Load of
a War

a War singly on ourselves, without the Participation of a Neighbour, who might divide the Charge, and support the Undertaking, was a Measure not to be justified, unless in the last Extremity, and when all other Means to preserve the *Liberty of Europe*, should prove ineffectual.

It cannot be forgot what Censures were passed on the *Part* which this Nation sustained in the last great War in *Europe*, though the Charge was compensated with glorious Success, and our Arms were triumphant beyond the Example of ancient or modern Story. It may be useful to recollect the Reasonings of the *Opposers* in those Days, by which we may see, that *Opposition* itself must justify the Conduct of this Administration.

The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*, that *Master Piece* of Political Science, which was published as an Introduction to the *Peace of Utrecht*, hath laid down the following Principles concerning Peace and War.

‘ The Motives that may engage a wise Prince
 ‘ or State in a War, I take to be one or more
 ‘ of these: Either to check the over-grown
 ‘ Power of some ambitious Neighbour; to re-
 ‘ cover what hath been unjustly taken from them;
 ‘ to revenge some Injury they have received
 ‘ (which all political Casuists allow) to assist some
 ‘ Ally in a just Quarrel; or, lastly, to defend
 ‘ themselves when they are invaded. In all these
 ‘ Cases, the Writers upon Government admit a
 ‘ War to be justly undertaken. The last is what
 ‘ hath been usually called *pro aris & focis*; where
 ‘ no Endeavours can be too great, because all
 ‘ we have is at Stake, and consequently our ut-
 ‘ most Force to be exerted, and the Dispute is
 ‘ soon determined, either in Safety or utter De-
 ‘ struction. But in the other Four, I believe it
 ‘ will

' will be found, that no Monarch or Com-
 ' monwealth did ever engage beyond a certain
 ' Degree ; never proceeding to exhaust the
 ' Strength and Substance of their Country,
 ' by Anticipations and Loans, which in a few
 ' Years must put them in a worse Condition
 ' than they could reasonably apprehend from those
 ' Evils, for the preventing of which they first
 ' entered into the War : Because this would be to
 ' run into real infallible Ruin, only in Hopes to
 ' remove what might perhaps but appear so by a
 ' probable Speculation.

' And as a War should be undertaken, upon
 ' a just and prudent Motive ; so it is still more
 ' obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to con-
 ' sider the Condition he is in, when he enters on
 ' it ; whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues
 ' clear of Debts, his People Numerous and Rich,
 ' by a long Peace and Free Trade, nor over-
 ' pressed with many burdensome Taxes : No
 ' violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prero-
 ' gative, and thereby weaken his Authority at
 ' Home, and lessen his Reputation Abroad. For,
 ' if the contrary of all this happen to be his
 ' Case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb
 ' the World's Quiet and his own, whilst there
 ' is any way left of preserving the latter with
 ' Honour and Safety.

The Neutrality of *Great Britain* being thus
 justified by the Consideration of our national
 Circumstances ; by the Consideration of the Neu-
 trality so resolutely persisted in by the *Dutch*,
 and the vast Disadvantage of engaging in a War
 without them : The Benefits which have accrued
 from this Neutrality on our Part, are worthy to
 be considered.

We have avoided the Miseries and Misfortunes of a consuming War, both by Sea and Land ; we have enjoy'd a free, uninterrupted Commerce with all Parts of the World. In the Profit of the *Corn Trade*, singly, this Nation hath gained, during the War, more than the *extraordinary* Charge of our Fleets and Armies ; and the Landed-Men have gained, by their Harvests, more than they have paid to the Land Tax.

Another Advantage attending our Expence, hath been, that during a *Neutrality*, the far greater Part of it circulates within our own Country ; whereas in a War on the Continent, we send immense Sums out of the Nation. So that a *Neutrality* brings the Wealth of *Europe* into *Britain* ; whereas a *War* drains us of our *Species*, and exhausts our Vital Strength.

We have therefore been wise, in observing a *Neutrality*, and wise in our Provisions to maintain the Weight of this Nation, during such a *Neutrality*. We have augmented our Force, without exhausting our Wealth, and restored Peace Abroad, by augmenting our Forces at Home. We have maintained our Dignity upon the Sea, and our Credit in the Councils of the contending Powers, with such happy Effects, that victorious Princes were cautious of pursuing their Conquests, from the Consideration of our Weight, and the Consequence of giving this Nation too great an Alarm.

This Success hath been so considerably great, notwithstanding the Difficulties of our Condition at home, and notwithstanding the Disadvantage we have suffered by the slow Proceedings of the *Dutch*, that our Mediation hath prevailed, and a Cessation of Hostilities been obtained in a War, where the Resistance on one Side was as feeble, as

the Progress on the other Side was rapid and unbounded.

This War, which hath swallowed up all the Imperial Countries in *Italy*, and left the *Emperor* not an Inch of Ground there, except *Mantua*, hath been brought to a Period in so short a Space as Two YEARS, than which no War of such Extent or Importance, within the last Hundred Years, had ever so short a Continuance.

The War which broke out in the *Empire* in 1620, raged EIGHTEEN Years, and was carried on by the Arms of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and by the *Crown of France*, without Intermission, till the Peace of *Munster* in *Westphalia* in 1648.

The War between *France* and *Spain*, which coincided with the War in the *Empire*, and broke out in 1635, continued with full Force TWENTY FOUR Years, and was not ended till the *Treaty of the Pyrenees* in 1659.

The War which broke out against the *Dutch* in 1672, was not concluded till SEVEN Years afterwards, when the *Treaty of Nimeguen* was made in 1679.

The War which began in *Europe* in 1689, was not concluded till NINE Years afterwards, when the Peace of *Ryswick* was made in 1697. And,

The consuming War which broke out in 1702, and which ravaged all the Continent of *Europe*, was not finally determined, till, after it had run a Course of TWELVE Years, it was ended by the Peace of *Rastadt* in 1714.

This short Duration of the War, now brought to Conclusion, is more to be admired, and the Weight of that Power, which so soon restored Tranquillity, is seen with more Advantage, from the Success which attended the Arms of *France*

on

on every Side, the slender Opposition which the *Emperor*, unassisted, was able to make, and the vast Opportunity, as well as Temptation which the *Crown of France* had, in this Instance, to indulge the most ambitious Views.

Yet *France* with this Success, this slender Opposition, this favourable Opportunity, and this seeming Temptation, hath, nevertheless, relinquished all those Advantages which might have been dangerous to the *Liberties of Europe*: She hath sought for no Acquisitions which could weaken the Barrier of her Neighbours; she hath made no Encroachment upon *Flanders*, no Usurpation on the Empire; but restores, by the *Peace*, what was taken in the *War*, as was constantly declared to be her Intention.

There can be no Reason assigned, with the least Probability, that *France* should neglect the Advantages of so successful a War; but their just Regard to the Power of such Nations, as they were not willing should become Parties in the War. And from the Vigour of his Majesty's Councils, in augmenting his Fleet and Armies, from the faithful Attachment of his Parliaments to the Support of his Reign, and from the strong Declarations which his *Ambassador* made to the *Dutch* in the last Summer: FRANCE and all the World must find, as it is expressed in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, of *January 17, 1733-4*, 'That *Great Britain* is always prepared to act that Part, which the Honour and Interest of the Nation calls upon them to undertake.'

To this it can only be imputed, that *France* hath acted, in the present Accommodation, with a Moderation beyond what can be met with in the Story of an Hundred Years: And when it is consider'd, that so great a Power, made formidable

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The War which broke out in the *Empire* in 1630, raged EIGHTEEN Years, and was carried on by the Arms of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and by the *Crown of France*, without Intermission, till the Peace of *Munster* in *Westphalia* in 1648.

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on every Side, the slender Opposition which the *Emperor*, unassisted, was able to make, and the vast Opportunity, as well as Temptation which the *Crown of France* had, in this Instance, to indulge the most ambitious Views.

Yet *France* with this Success, this slender Opposition, this favourable Opportunity, and this seeming Temptation, hath, nevertheless, relinquished all those Advantages which might have been dangerous to the *Liberties of Europe*: She hath sought for no Acquisitions which could weaken the Barrier of her Neighbours; she hath made no Encroachment upon *Flanders*, no Usurpation on the Empire; but restores, by the *Peace*, what was taken in the *War*, as was constantly declared to be her Intention.

There can be no Reason assigned, with the least Probability, that *France* should neglect the Advantages of so successful a War; but their just Regard to the Power of such Nations, as they were not willing should become Parties in the War. And from the Vigour of his Majesty's Councils, in augmenting his Fleet and Armies, from the faithful Attachment of his Parliaments to the Support of his Reign, and from the strong Declarations which his *Ambassador* made to the *Dutch* in the last Summer: *FRANCE* and all the World must find, as it is expressed in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, of *January 17, 1733-4*, 'That *Great Britain* is always prepared to act that Part, which the Honour and Interest of the Nation calls upon them to undertake.'

To this it can only be imputed, that *France* hath acted, in the present Accommodation, with a Moderation beyond what can be met with in the Story of an Hundred Years: And when it is consider'd, that so great a Power, made formidable

by a long Continuance of Peace, made much more formidable by the Success of two Years War, uncheck'd in her Conquests, and unbounded in her Projects, hath yielded to restore the common Tranquillity of *Europe*, and sacrificed the Views of Ambition to the Consideration of the General Interest; there is nothing can give a higher Idea of the Influence of that Mediation, which prevail'd with such happy Effect, not only in restoring Peace, but in preventing every Inconvenience which might have arisen from the War.

It will greatly conduce to the right Understanding of this Matter, if we look back to former Treaties; for, though I believe that no Man thinks *LORRAIN* any great Accession to the Dominions of *France*, yet the World will see, with how great Moderation the *French Court* have governed their Demands on this Occasion, in a much stronger Light, from a View of their Acquisitions at the End of every War in the Course of the last Age.

By the TREATY OF MUNSTER, Article 61, the Emperor and Empire relinquish'd to *France* the Sovereignty of the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; by the 63d Article, the Right of *Pignerol*; by the 64th Article, the City of *Brisac*, the Landgraveship of *Upper and Lower Alsatia*, *Sunlgau*, and the Provincial Lordship of *Ten Imperial Cities* situated in *Alsatia*, viz. *Haguenau*, *Calmer*, *Sclestadt*, *Weisemberg*, *Landau*, *Oberenheim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster in the Valley of St. Gregory*, *Keyserberg*, *Turingham*, with the Villages of *Hochstet*, *Neder-rimsing*, *Hartem*, and *Acharren*, appertaining to the Commonalty of *Brisac*. Likewise by the 68th Article, *France* was to have perpetual Right to keep a [limited] Garison in the Castle of *PHILIPSBURG*, with a Passage always open into the Empire by Water, whenever the
French

French should send Soldiers, Convoys, &c. thither. It is further stipulated in the 83d Article, that the Fortifications of *Benfeldt* shall be rased, and of the Fort *Rhinau*, which is hard by; as also of *Tabern* in *Alsatia*, of the Castle of *Hohenber*, and of *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*, and there shall be in none of those Places any Soldiers or Garisons. Lastly, in the 84th Article, it is agreed, that the said City of *Tabern* shall keep an exact Neutrality, and the Troops of *France* shall pass freely there as often as desired. No Forts shall be erected on this Side the *Rhine*, from *Basle* to *Philipsburg*; nor any Endeavours be made to divert the Course of the *Rhine*, neither on one Side nor the other.

By the PYRENEAN TREATY concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the 7th of November, 1659, the most Christian King was to remain seized of the following Places. By the 35th Article, within the Government of *Artois*, the Town and City of *Arras*, with the Government and Bayliwick thereof; *Bethune*, *Lillers*, *Lens*, and the Governments or Bayliwicks thereof; the County of *St. Pol*, *Tervane*, *de Pas*, and the Bayliwicks thereof; as also all other Bayliwicks of the said *Artois*, excepting only *Aire* and *St. Omer*, and the Place of *Renty*, if found to be of their Dependencies.

Article 36. Within the Province of *Flanders*, the Crown of *FRANCE* was to possess *Graveling*, the Forts *Philip*, of the *Sluce*, and *Hannin Bourburg*, with the Chastellany thereof, and *St. Venant*, and their Dependencies.

Article 37. Within the Province of *Hainault*, *FRANCE* was to possess *Landrécy* and *Quesnoy*, and their Dependencies.

Article 38. Within the Province of *Luxemburg*, the FRENCH were to possess *Thionville*, *Montmedy*, and *Danvilliers*, with their Dependencies; the Provostship of *Ivay*, *Chavency*, *Chateau*, and the Post of *Marville* on the *Vezin*, with the Provostship thereof.

Article 39. *Marienburg* and *Philippeville*, with their Dependencies.

Article 40. The Town and Place of *Arviennes*, situate between the *Sambre* and the *Maese*, with its Dependencies.

Article 42. The Court of *France* was to possess the whole County of *Roussillon*, and of *Gonstans*, on the Side of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, with Part of the *Cerdagne*, *Casal*, and Thirty three Villages.

Article 49. The Catholick King was to restore to FRANCE *Rocroy*, *le Catelet*, and *Linchamp*, with their Dependencies; and even, though the said Places were, at the Time of this Treaty, in other Power and other Hands than of his Catholick Majesty, yet he was not to be dispensed of the Restitution of those three Places to *France*, but was to take upon him the real and faithful Execution of this Article.

It might have been imagined, that this long List of Towns and Countries would have satisfied the *French Ambition*; but, in the Year 1667, *France* invaded *Flanders* again, alledging, that the *Infanta of Spain*, Queen of *Lewis XIV*, being Daughter of his late Catholick Majesty's first Marriage, the Law of *Brabant* gave her the Right of Inheritance to *Flanders*, preferable to the King her Brother, who was born of the second Venter; and *Flanders* was claimed on this Foundation, notwithstanding the Renunciations made at the Time of her Marriage.

In Consequence of this Demand the War was begun, and the next Year, produced the *Treaty of AIX LA CHAPELLE* signed between *France* and *Spain* the 2d of *May*, 1668.

We shall here have another Instance of the Advantage which *France* made of her Wars in those Times, and with how much Difference she now accepts the Terms and Conditions of Peace.

By the 3d Article of the *Treaty of Aix la Chapelle*, the most Christian King was to keep and enjoy all the Places which his Arms had taken or fortified in the last Campaign, viz.

In the County of *NAMUR*, *Charleroy* ; in the County of *HAINAULT*, the Towns of *Binch* and *Aeth* ; in the County of *FLANDERS*, the Balliage of *Doway*, wherein is *Doway*, the Fort of *Scarp Pontarasse*, *St. Ecluse*, *Orchies*, *Marchiennes*.

The *TOURNESIS*, wherein are the Towns of *Tournay*, *St. Amand*, and *Mortagne* ; the Chastellany and Town of *OUDENARDE* ; the Province and Government of *LISLE*, with the Town of that Name ; the *CAREMBAN*, in which are *Pontaverdin* and *Phalompin* ; the *PUEDE*, in which are *Montseuquede*, *Chisoin*, *Pontamarque*, and *Pontaboninnes* ; the *MELANTHOISE*, wherein are *Pontatressin* and *Seclin* ; the *FERAIN*, in which are *la Basser* and *Haut-Bourdin* ; the Town of *Armentiers* ; the Chastellany of *COURTRAY*, *Menin*, *Harlebeck*, *Deinse*, *Theist*, *Rosebeck* ; the Viscounty of *Berg St. Vinox*, and *Fort Francis* ; the Viscounty of *Furnes*, with *Furnes*, *Fort Knockque*, &c.

We are now to view the Peace of *NIMEGUEN*, and the Acquisitions made therein by the *Court of France*.

In the *Treaty* between *France* and *Spain*, signed at *Nimeguen* the 17th of *September*, 1678.

By

By the 10th Article the most Christian King was to enjoy all the County of Burgundy, commonly called the *Franche Comte*, and the Countries depending, comprising the City of *Besançon*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, and their Dependencies; *Cambray* and the *Cambresis*; *Aire*, *St. Omer*, and their Dependencies; *Ipres*, and its Chastellany; *Warwick* and *Warneton* on the *Lys*; *Poperinghen*, *Pailleul*, and *Cassel*, and *Bavay* and *Maubeuge*, with their Dependencies. Likewise by the 12th Article, the Town of *Dinant* was given to *France*.

And in the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, signed at *Nimeguen* 3d Feb. 1678-9, the *Emperor*, by the fifth Article, gave up, in Behalf of the whole House of *Austria*, the Town of *Friburg*, with the Three Villages of *Lebn*, *Mexbauzen*, and *Kirchxart*.

Afterwards, by the TREATY OF RYSWICK, though much was restored of what had been taken by the *French* in *Flanders* and in *Germany*, and though the Weight of our Great Deliverer, the Immortal King *William the Third*, compelled *France*, for the first Time, to restore the Places which she had conquered; yet even in this Treaty signed between the *Emperor* and *France* the 30th of *October* 1697, his Imperial Majesty and the Empire yield, in the 16th Article, to the *French King*, the important City of *STRASBURGH*, and what appertains to the same on the Left Side of the *Rhine*, with all the Jurisdiction, Property, and supreme Dominion, which had belonged to his Imperial Majesty and the *Roman Emperor*.

Neither can it ever be forgot, or ever forgiven, that in the TREATY OF UTRECHT, after a War, wherein *France* had been humbled in the Dust, she was suffered to exact of the STATES GENERAL no less than the Town and Citadel of
LISLE,

LISLE, which had cost the Confederate Arms the Lives of so many Thousand brave Men in the Siege of 1708. By the 15th Article of that Treaty signed between *France* and the *States*, on the 11th of *April*, 1713, not only *Lisle* with the *Chastellany*, without any Exception, was given up, but *Orchies*, the Country of *Laleu*, and the Town of *la Gourgue*; the Towns and Places of *Aire*, *Béthune*, and *St. Venant*; with *Fort Francis*, their Governments and Dependencies.

To shew the last Acquisition of the *French*, which likewise was owing to the Iniquity of our perfidious Ministers.——By the TREATY OF RASTADT, Article 13, signed the 6th of *March*, 1714, his Imperial Majesty was obliged to give up to *France* the Town of LANDAU, with its Dependencies, consisting of the Villages of *Nusdorf*, *Danheim*, *Quietsheim*, with their Districts, and all their Fortifications.

The Publick will be enabled to judge, from the View of all these Treaties, what Advantages *France* used to make of her Success, and what Terms she formerly obtained, even at her lowest Ebb. As the *House of Austria* could not hope, that *France* would acquiesce in the Succession of that Family, without some Benefit to herself; and as they might naturally apprehend a much more considerable Claim on the Part of *France*, than the Reversion of LORRAIN; so the whole World who see, that this Reversion is all the Benefit which *France* proposes to herself, not only in Consideration of her *Guaranty to the Pragmatick Sanction*, but of restoring Peace to *Europe*; the whole World, I say, will allow it to be the most moderate Advantage that any Nation ever drew from its Victories.

For, if we Consider, this War, which had over-run *Poland*; which had over-run the Country on the

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Rhine,

Rhine, and the Hereditary Countries in *Italy*, thus brought to a Cessation in so short a Time as *Two Years*; the *Elector of Saxony* confirmed in the *Kingdom of Poland*; the *EMPIRE* restored to its Peace, and secured in its Liberties; the *EMPEROR* himself, who was divested of every Thing in *Italy*, but *Mantua*, restored to the *Milanese*; and the Reversion of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* settled in the Imperial Family: Nay more, the Succession of his Family, in Failure of Male Issue, guaranteed by *France* itself, according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*.—Such vast Concessions from a successful Enemy, must excite the Curiosity of every Man to know the Importance of that Acquisition, for which *France* is content to yield so much in the present Accommodation.

This Sovereignty of *Lorraine*, which King *Stanislaus* hath acquir'd in Reversion, after the Death of the present *Great Duke of Tuscany*, and which is to be united to the *Crown of France*, after the Death of *Stanislaus*, did comprehend formerly within its Dominions, *Brabant*, *Luxemburg*, the *Dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, Treves, Strasbourg*, and all *Alsatia*.

After the Death of *Lotharius*, *Anno 809*, from whom it was called *Lotharingia*, and by Contraction *Lorraine*, there being a Dispute about the Succession, the Kings of *France* and *Germany* divided it between them. *Charles the Simple* reunited it to the *Crown of France* in 915. It was afterwards conquer'd by *Henry the Fowler*; and *Otho the Second* gave the Lower Part of it, now called *Brabant*, to *Charles*, youngest Son of *Lewis the Fourth of France*, rendering him Homage.

The Emperor *Henry the Third*, upon the Failure of the Male Line in 1048, gave it to *Gerhard of Alsatia*, the Founder of the present Family of *Lorraine*.

Lorrain. His Male Line failing in 1430, his only Daughter married *Rene* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, whose Daughter, *Yoland*, was married to *Rene II*. Grandfather to *Charles the Second* of *Lorrain*, of whom came CHARLES THE THIRD, who was so well known to the World by his Misfortunes, and was stripped of his Dominions by the *French* Anno 1633.

It may be necessary here to look back to the various Revolutions in *Lorrain* since the present Ducal Family enjoyed it. In the Year 1475, *Nancy*, the Capital of *Lorrain*, was taken by *Charles the Hardy* of *Burgundy*. In the Year 1476 the Duke regained it; and *Charles* again besieged it in 1477, when he was killed before it.

When the War broke out in *Germany* in 1630, *Charles the Third* above-mentioned, was soon made a Party; *Puffendorff* tells us, in his Introduction to the History of *Europe*, that *Lewis the Thirteenth* took from the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Country, in the Year 1633, because he had declared himself for the *Emperor*.

It would swell this Disquisition to an unnecessary Length, were I to enter into a Detail of his various Fortunes. It will be sufficient to observe, that when the Peace of the Empire was restored by the Treaty of *MUNSTER* in *Westphalia*, Anno 1648, nothing was effectually done in that Treaty for the Restitution of *Lorrain*; only by the 72d Article, that Duke *Francis* of *Lorrain* should be restored to the Possession of the Bishoprick of *Verdun*, as being the lawful Bishop thereof; and by the Fifth Article, that the Controversy touching *Lorrain* should be referred to Arbitrators nominated on both Sides; or it should be terminated in a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, or by some other friendly Means; but all the Electors and

States of the Empire were restrained from interposing by Force of Arms.

Accordingly the Affairs of this Dutchy continued in the same Uncertainty, till they were, according to this Stipulation, but not till almost Twelve Years afterwards, terminated in a Treaty between *France* and *Spain*.

This was the *Treaty of the PYRENEES* 1659.

By the 62d Article it is recited, that Duke *Charles of Lorrain* having shewed much Sorrow for his Conduct towards the most *Christian King*, and to have a firm Intention to give him more Satisfaction for the Time to come; his most *Christian Majesty*, in Consideration of the mighty Offices of the *Catbolick King*, doth, from this Time, receive the said Duke into his good Grace.

It is therefore agreed, that, after the demolishing the Fortifications of both the Towns of *Nancy*, which the Duke shall not have Power to raise again, and the carrying away of all the Artillery and Ammunitions of War, the said Duke shall be put in Possession of *Lorrain*, and all the Places he formerly possessed, depending of the Three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; except,

First, *Moyenvie*, within the Marches of *Lorrain*, yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Munster*.

63d Article. Secondly, except the whole Dukedom of *Bar*.

64th Article. Thirdly, except the County of *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Dun*, and *Jametz*, which, with all their Dependencies, shall remain for ever united to the Crown of *France*.

67th Article. Neither the said Duke *Charles*, nor any Prince of his House, shall have Power to remain in Arms.

68th Article. But the said Duke, before his Re-establishment, shall prepare an Act, in good
Form

Form, to the most *Christian King*, importing, that he doth desist and give over all Intelligences, Leagues, Affociations, and Practices, which he hath, or may have, to the Prejudice of the *Crown of France*; and that he will give no Retreat for the future into his Dominions, to the Enemies, Rebels, or suspected Subjects of *France*, and will not permit any Levies there, or gathering of Soldiers against the *French King's Service*.

69th Article. The said Duke, by another Act before his Re-establishment, shall bind himself, and all the Dukes of *Lorraine* his Successors, to grant free Passage, at all Times, through his Dominions, to all Persons, and Forces Horse and Foot, which *France* shall send into *Alsatia*, and to *Brisac*, and *Philipsburg*.

This was the Result of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, which nevertheless did not end the Difference: For we find a Treaty between *LEWIS XIV. of France*, and *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, whereby the Estates of that Duke [and the *Dutchy of BAR*] are restored to him. Done at *Paris* the last Day of *February* 1661.

As this hath no-where been inserted in any of the *English Collections*, it may not be improper to refer the Reader to the *CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE of Dumont*, Tome the *Sixth*, Part the *Second*, Page 348, where he will find this Treaty at large.

By this Treaty, *France* restored *BAR* to Duke *Charles*, rendering Homage to *France* for that Dutchy: Saving, in Consideration thereof, the Towns, Villages and Countries, specify'd in Eleven Articles, and likewise a Road through his Dominions for the Subjects and Troops of *France*.

This Restitution, however, did not leave the Duke at Quiet, for we find he was induced to compound

compound for his Peace, by consenting to the RE-UNION of all his Countries with the *Crown of France*, after his Decease : And accordingly in the 401st Page of the same Part of the aforementioned *Tome*, there is another Act in the *Corps Diplomatique*, entitled,

‘ TREATY between *Louis XIV.* King of *France*,
 ‘ and *Charles III.* of *Lorraine*, whereby that Prince
 ‘ yields and makes over to his most Christian
 ‘ Majesty all his Estates, on Condition that the said
 ‘ Duke shall enjoy the Possession during his Life,
 ‘ and that the Princes of his House shall be ac-
 ‘ knowledged as next to the Princes of the Blood
 ‘ Royal of *France*, capable of succeeding to the
 ‘ Crown, &c.’ Done at *Paris* the 6th of *February*
 1662.

Puffendorff, in his Introduction to the History of *Europe*, Page 207, says, ‘ That the Duke would fain have annulled this Treaty afterwards, but the *French King*, who did not understand jesting in such a Point, forced him to surrender to him *MARSAL*.’ This was the Cause of the Invasion in 1664, and the next Year was the last of this *Duke’s* Life.

In 1670, *France* having again seized on the Dominions of *Lorraine*, the young Duke put himself into the Protection of the Emperor *Leopold*, who gave him his Sister, the Queen Dowager of *Poland* in Marriage, from whence arose the Alliance of the House of *LORRAIN* with the Imperial Family.

But the Power of *France* was so transcendent, that in the Treaty of *NIMEGUEN* signed the 3d of *February* 1678, between the Emperor and *France*, the Restitution of the Duke of *Lorraine* could not be procured on better Terms than the following, viz.
 Article

Article 12. The Duke to be restored to all that his Uncle possessed in 1670, except,

[Article 13.] The Town of *Nancy*, CAPITAL of *Lorraine*, which was to be for ever united to the Crown of *France*; and *Toul* given to the Duke in Exchange.

Article 14. FOUR ROADS of *Half a League* Broad, to be marked out by the *French King's* Commissaries, that there might be a more free Communication between *Nancy* and the Dominions of *France*, and a more easy Passage for the *French King's* Soldiers: The first Road to be from *St. Didier* to *Nancy*: the second from *Nancy* to *Alsacia*; the third to *Besançon*; the fourth to *Metz*; and *France* to have Sovereign Right in all the Lands and Towns lying on those Roads.

And, Article 15. The City and Provostship of *Longwic* to be given to the Crown of *France* for ever, in Exchange for some Provostship in the Three Bishopricks.

The brave Duke, with a Greatness of Spirit worthy of himself, refused to acquiesce in Terms of so much Ignominy, and chose rather to lose all his Dominions, than to accept the Restitution of them, subject to such a Yoke. He therefore remained deprived of them to the Day of his Death.

LEOPOLD his Son, by the *Peace* of RYSWICK in 1697, was restored to the free Possession of his Countries, except that by the 32d Article of the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, the *French* were to possess the Fort of *Saar Louis*, with Half a League of Ground round it, and the City of *Longwic*, as before.

And by the 34th Article,

' The Country shall be always open for the
' *King's* Soldiers to march to, and return from
' the

the Frontier Towns without any Obstacle or Impediment through the *Duke's* Dominions.

From these Deductions it will appear, that *France* hath exercised supreme Power over the Dominions of *Lorrain* for above an *Hundred Years* past ; that the *Dukes of Lorrain* were never able to give Obstructions to her Designs ; but that whenever they have confederated with the Empire, they have instantly been dispossessed of their whole Country ; that harrassed, exiled, and subdued in this Manner, they have yielded to the Omnipotence of the *French*, who have cut great Roads through *Lorrain*, and left the Ducal Family little more than the Rights of Proprietaries ; that therefore the entire Sovereignty of these Dutchies will be no considerable Acquisition to *France*, will give that Kingdom no additional Power to the Prejudice of the Empire ; will no ways aid her in any ambitious Design, nor make the Greatness of the *House of Bourbon* a Whit more formidable to *Europe*.

This Cession of *Lorrain*, weighed against the Guarantee of *France* given to the Pragmatick Sanction, which establishes the Succession of the *Austrian* Hereditary Countries, indivisible in the eldest Female Heirs of the *Imperial Family*, will appear to be the Means of procuring the greatest Security which the Liberties of *Europe* could want, or the Friends of the Publick Interest desire.

This favourite View, which the *Emperor* hath made the great End of all his Measures, is now in a better way of taking Place than he himself could have expected it should be, even before the breaking out of the late War.

The *Kingdom of Poland* is now in such Hands, as cannot be suspected of obstructing the Succession in the *House of Austria* ; and what was despair'd

spaired of during the Life of the late King *Augustus*, who employ'd such constant Attention and Affiduity to procure it, is now effected, even with the Approbation of *France*; so that the *Elector of Saxony* being possessed of that Crown, the Peace of the *North* is secured, in all Probability, for half an Age to come.

And the *Guaranty* of *France* being obtained in Favour of the Succession to the *Hereditary Countries*, according to the *Emperor's* Wishes, and so much beyond his Hopes: This will lead us to enquire, whether it could have been obtained in any way more advantageous to the *Liberties of Europe*, and the Interests of this Kingdom; or whether it might not have been regulated in a Manner infinitely prejudicial to the common Security.

The *Liberties of Europe*, and the *Interest of Britain*, entirely depend on the keeping up an Equality of Power, and a continual RIVALSHIP between the *House of Austria* and the *House of Bourbon*: So long as they check the Ambition of each other, their Neighbours will undoubtedly be safe.

If then the DUKE of LORRAIN, by his Extraction from the Imperial Family, and his intended Alliance with the Eldest *Imperial Archduchess*, becomes the Successor in the Empire; he preserves the Greatness of the *House of Austria* entire; he perpetuates the *Rivalship* between that Family and the *House of Bourbon*; he must have Occasion for the same Supports as his Predecessors in the Empire have always rested upon; he must court the Friendship of *Britain* and *Holland* as his natural Allies, and answer all the Purposes which we can expect from the Head of the *Germanick Body*, in maintaining the general Interest.

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On the other hand, had the *Emperor* made his Peace as many Persons feared he might have been tempted to make it; had he married the *Arch-dutcheſſes* into the *House of Bourbon*, he would have had no Occaſion to keep any Meaſures with his old Allies; he would have been in no Dependence on the *Britiſh* Nation, or the *Dutch*; he muſt have favoured the ambitious Views of the Family with whom he had tied his own; their Interests would have been correfpondent with his Interests, their Enemies would have been his Enemies, and the *Maritime Powers* muſt have ſuffered infinite Inconveniencies.

Or, had he left this *Succession in his Family* expoſed to inevitable Controverſies in the Inſtant when it ought to take Place; had he left the Imperial Throne and the Hereditary Dominions vacant, before the *Conſent of France* had been engaged, and had he thereby given the *French* ſo great an Occaſion to begin a War in *Europe*, immediately upon his Demife: What Hazards muſt the Liberties of *Germany* have been expoſed to? What Acceſſions to the *Power of France* might have been gained, and what endless Broils entailed on the lateſt Poſterity?

All this conſider'd, it will be found, that to obviate ſuch various Difficulties; to prevent the *Emperor* from throwing himſelf upon the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *House of Bourbon*; to provide, by the ſtrongeſt Security, for the Succeſſion in his Family, according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*; to reſtore the *Empire* to Peace and Safety, and to preſerve the Tranquillity of the *North*, by confirming King *Augustus* in the Throne of *Poland*, hath been the greateſt Work that the Hiſtory of any Age can ſhew an Example of; hath been achiev'd with the leaſt Expence

pence that the Peace of the World was ever established by the Means of ; hath laid the Foundation of lasting Happiness to all the *Powers of Europe* in general, and to the *British Nation* in particular ; and hath justly earned the most lasting Glory to the *Mediating Powers*, whose Weight and Address have obtained such Benefits to the present and future Ages.

In this Disquisition, less hath been said concerning the *new Division* of ITALY, because it is of least Importance to the general Interest. But it will be agreed, that if a Son of the *Crown of Spain* is to have Establishment there, as hath been the Intention of all the Great Powers, ever since the *Quadruple Alliance*, it will be the best Disposition, which could be wished for, to give him *Naples and Sicily*, and to give the House of *Austria* a Country altogether on the Continent of *Italy*, by which the *Spanish* Court will stand in greater Need, and the *Imperial* Court in less, of Protection from the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, to maintain them respectively in those Dominions.

It is evident, that if the *Emperor* had not an Inch of Ground in *Italy*, he must generally depend upon *Britain* and *Holland* for the Defence of the *Empire*. But on the other hand, the *Crown of Spain* hath not been so much in Want of our Assistance, since *Italy* and *Flanders* have been disunited from that Monarchy. I take it to be a Truth of the greatest Clearness and Importance, that the *Spanish* Court will always be most glad of our Friendship, whilst either the *King of Spain*, or any Branch of *his Family*, possess Dominions in the *Mediterranean Seas* : They will favour our *Commerce*, that we may preserve their *Dominions*, and they will as naturally resort to us on all Occasions, as

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they

they were wont before the Death of King *Charles the Second of Spain*.

Nor could it be doubted, that this Exchange of the Dominions of *Tuscany* for the two *Sicilies*, would be accepted by *SPAIN*; though the Slowness of that Court in every thing which regards the *Punctilio of Honour*, occasioned some Delay. The superior Splendor of the Regal Dignity, and the Advantage of a better Dominion than the *Queen of Spain* could obtain for her Son by any former Treaty; the certain Prospect of gaining nothing by the most obstinate Refusal; and the Hazard of exposing *All* to the Chance of a War, wherein *Spain* might have been engaged with all the Powers of *Europe* united against her: All these Circumstances made it more than probable, that the *Court of Madrid* would accept of the Terms offered by the *Preliminaries*; and made it more reasonable for the *Court of Great Britain* to approve them, by the Joint Resolution concerted between his *Majesty* and the *States General*.

The Event, confirmed the good Judgment of those who relied on this Opinion. An Article in the *London Gazette* of the 6th of *January* acquainted the Publick, That notwithstanding the Memorial presented to the *States General* by the *Marquis de St. Gilles*, in the Name of his *Catholick Majesty*, that Ambassador declared every where, that his Master was not against the *Preliminaries*, and
 ‘ that he was willing to accept the Good Offices
 ‘ of the *Maritime* Powers, but for the Sake of
 ‘ his Honour, his *Catholick Majesty* would not be
 ‘ compelled to accept them.”

And his Majesty's Wisdom and Foresight in this important Affair appears from the Passage in his most Gracious Speech of the 15th of *January*, made to both Houses of Parliament, where it is assured,

‘ That

That although the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia* had not yet in *Form* declared their final Resolutions upon the *Preliminaries*, yet, there was great Reason to believe, that the Love of Peace, their avowed Disposition for putting an End to the Troubles of *Europe*, and the amicable Interposition of Common Friends, would prevail upon them to agree to what had been concerted by the *Preliminary Articles*."

What his Majesty so wisely discerned, hath accordingly happened in the Instance of the Crown of *Spain*, whose Consent, in the Nature of Things, must absolutely govern the King of *Sardinia's* Resolution. It is published in the *Gazette of January* 17th, that by Letters at the *Hague* from *Madrid* of the 22d of *December*, O. S. His *Catholic Majesty* had DECLARED to the *French Ambassador* there, that He had Resolved to comply with the *Preliminaries*.

Having now viewed this Accommodation in all the Lights of its putting an End to a ruinous War in a shorter Time than ever was known ; its preserving the Greatness of the *House of Austria* intire, and providing the best Security for the Succession in the Empire ; its composing the Troubles in *Poland*, and making the most advantageous Distribution of the Countries in *Italy* ; I will add another Benefit arising from it, of no small Importance to *Europe*, and of high Concern to *Great Britain*.— It hath separated the Interests, or, at least, hath divided the Views of the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, whose Union is, at all Times, so formidable, as gives me less Occasion to enlarge on this Subject.

The Cession of *LORRAIN*, which is the Consideration of obtaining these large Advantages from *France*, will rather make it admired, that such

such moderate Terms should prevail in this important Affair, than give Matter for Complaint, that so small a Possession should be given up to restore the Tranquillity of *Europe*; and whoever considers *Lorrain*, trifling as it really is in Comparison with the Advantages yielded in Exchange for it, will consider it as an Affair that might have occasioned much Uneasiness in *Europe*, and many Bickerings between *Germany* and *France*, even supposing the Family of *Lorrain* quietly seated on the Imperial Throne.

This Cession is however not to take Effect till the Duke of *Lorrain* is in full Possession of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and then King *Stanislaus* is to possess it as long as he lives; which makes the Acquisition to *France* still more remote, though the Benefits to *Europe* are immediate.

Upon the Whole, if we examine the Nature of this Accommodation according to the Rules laid down by the ablest Writers on the Laws of Nations, and the Best Judges of all such Pacts and Agreements, we have their Judgment in its Favour, and the full Credit of their Authorities to increase its Reputation.

The learned PUFFENDORFF, in the 9th Section of the 6th Chapter of his 3d Book of the *Law of Nature and Nations*, hath laid down THREE RULES for the making of Treaties, which are evidently wise and just, and have been observed in the present Instance.

The First Rule is, ' Never to depend much on a Covenant, but when we know that the Interest of the other Party is concerned in the Performance of it, as well as our own; and that, upon Default, he is likely to suffer some greater Inconvenience than he can incur in standing to the Agreement.'

Secondly,

Secondly, ' He who enters into a Contract with
 ' superior Power, should so order Affairs, as that
 ' the *stronger* Party shall be obliged to be the
 ' *first Performer* ; for if the weaker Person dis-
 ' charge his Part first, the Effect will probably be,
 ' either that he shall be disappointed or deluded,
 ' or that he must depend intirely on the Favour
 ' and good Graces of the other for what he expects
 ' in Return.'

And, Lastly, ' That he exposes his Safety to
 ' manifest Danger, who, by performing a Cove-
 ' nant, weakens himself, and strengthens the other
 ' Party, upon Hopes that, in Requital, and ac-
 ' cording to the Agreement, he shall afterwards
 ' receive the like Advantage : For it is a Piece of
 ' Folly to give a great and substantial Good in
 ' Exchange for *Words, Writings, and Seals*, when
 ' we have nothing to oppose to the Charms of
 ' Ambition, but the ill-grounded Hopes of Ho-
 ' nesty and Fidelity.'

It may be observed on these Rules, with Rela-
 tion to the Cession of *Lorraine*, in Exchange for
Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, that *France*, the
 Power from whom any Jealousy can arise, is to
 be the *first Performer* ; that consequently the In-
 terest of the Party to be feared, is concerned in
 the Execution of the Treaty ; that the *Emperor*
 does not entirely depend on the Favour and good
 Grace of the *French*, nor weakens himself by
 his Concessions to strengthen the other Party, in
 Confidence of their Generosity.

I shall conclude with the Words of the ad-
 mirable GROTIUS, in the last Chapter of his im-
 mortal Work *de Jure Belli & Pacis*.

' It is enough, *says this great Man*, if we can
 ' obtain PEACE ; but, for the most Part, the
 ' *common Interest* requires it.

First,

First, those that are weakest; because it is dangerous to contend long with one more mighty; And as in a Ship, if we can, in a violent Storm, save our Lives, by throwing our Goods over board; so in a War, it will be a good Purchase, if by parting with something, we may secure the whole Remainder, leaving those vain Arguments drawn from Hope and Revenge, to their deluding Authors, as *Livy* rightly calls them, which *ARISTOTLE* thus expresses, *It is much better for them who think themselves strongest, to part with somewhat of their Right, than to hazard all to an uncertain Victory.*

Even to the strongest Party is Peace most profitable, because thereby they enjoy their own (as the same *Livy* most truly says) in Peace and Plenty, which is better and safer than a Victory in Expectation: for we must consider, that the Success of War is uncertain. *ARISTOTLE* says, *We must remember how many and unforeseen Changes happen in War.* *DIODORUS*, in his Oration for Peace, blames those who boast of their great Exploits done in War, as if it were not usual for Fortune to favour sometimes one Side, and sometimes another. And the bold Attempts of desperate Men are as much to be feared, as the sharp Teeth of dying beasts.

But, if both Parties seem to be of equal Strength, then, in the Opinion of *CÆSAR*, it is the fittest Time to treat of Peace, whilst each Party presumes upon his own Strength.

F I N I S.